

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 3406

EXDIS

EO. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PARM, US, UR
SUBJECT: TTB/T/PNE NEGOTIATIONS:

ACDA ONLY

EYES ONLY DR. IKLE FROM BUCHHEIM

REF: STATE 52152

1. TREATING PROVISIONS MENTIONED REFTL (SLIFER EMPLACEMENT RULES, CANISTER RULES, LOCAL SEISMIC NETWORK RULES, AGGREGATE YIELD LIMIT) AS INTEGRATED SET IS CLEARLY RIGHT WAY TO PROCEED IN DETERMIING ACCEPTABLE BOUNDARIES ON THESE PARAMETERS.
2. FROM INFORMATION AVAILABLE HERE, WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT PROMPTED EXPLICIT CONSIDERATION IN WASHINGTON AT THIS TIME OF NEW PACKAGE CONTAINING THESE INGREDIENTS.
3. AMONG THE SEVERAL FACTORS THAT CAN BE GUESSED AT HERE, ONE POSSIBLE CONSIDERATION IS AN ESTIMATE THAT THE AD REFERENDUM SLIFER EMPLACEMENT RULE IS INADEQUATE AND SHOULD AT SOME PRICE BE REPLACED BY A BETTER ONE. SIGNS OF THIS VIEW ARE CONTAINED IN STATE 42847; HOWEVER, NO TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT HAS BEEN SENT TO DELEGATION. WE CONTINUE NOT TO UNDERSTAND WASHINGTON VIEW OF THIS MATTER, AND LACK OF RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS IN MOSCOW 2684 HAS NOT HELPED.

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4. WHAT FOLLOWS IS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT WASHINGTON

ASSESSMENT OF QUESTION OF SLIFER EMPLACEMENT ISSUE IS FIRM AND RELIABLE.

5. FIRST, IN CONSIDERING CONCESSIONS US MIGHT MAKE IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE MOVEMENT, I THINK IT SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE ARE AREAS IN WHICH WE CAN OFFER CONCESSIONS OF RELATIVELY LITTLE SIGNIFICANCE TO US BUT WHICH WOULD PROBABLY BE OF SUBSTANTIAL WORTH TO SOVIETS. THE FOLLOWING POSSIBLE CONCESSIONS ARE OF THIS CHARACTER (SEE MOSCOW 3143):

A. ISSUE NO. 6 -- WE CAN AGREE TO LANGUAGE OF "POSITIVE TONE" TO EXPRESS IDEA THAT USE OF CANISTERS LONGER THAN 10 METERS WILL REQUIRE AGREEMENT BETWEEN PARTIES (SEE ALSO MOSCOW 3295 PARA 8(B)).

B. ISSUE NO. 7 -- WE CAN (IF MOROKHOV EVER GETS AROUND TO MEETING ON THE SUBJECT) USE SIMILAR LANGUAGE CONCERNING SPACINGS BETWEEN EXPLOSIVES LESS THAN 10W(1/3).

C. ISSUE NO. 10 -- WE CAN, SO FAR AS I KNOW, RETURN TO 10 KILO-METERS AS MAXIMUM DISTANCE FROM EXPLOSION FOR LOCATION OF SEISMIC INSTRUMENTS IN PROCESS OF BARGAINING ON OBSERVER ACCESS. (AREA OF POTENTIAL OBSERVER ACCESS WOULD THUS BE REDUCED BY FACTOR OF 4, A POINT OF IMPORTANCE TO RUSSIANS.)

D. ISSUE NO. 20 -- IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ACCEPT SOVIET POSITION THAT HOST PARTY TAKE PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADDING REQUIREMENT FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY, E.G., BY USING POLAROID CAMERA. THE DEEP IMPORTANCE OF PHOTOGRAPHY ISSUE TO SOVIETS IS SOMETHING TO BEHOLD.

E. ISSUE NO. 24 -- IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO AGREE TO USE NOMINAL KINDS OF HAND TOOLS, E.G., SHOVELS, PROVIDED BY HOST PARTY.

6. SECOND, A VERY IMPORTANT MEASURE TO EMPHASIZE IN INTEREST OF GETTING JOB DONE IS TO AVOID UNNECESSARY RETROGRADE CHANGES IN US POSITION.

7. THIRD, EVEN THOUGH CLOCK CANNOT BE TURNED BACK TO JANUARY, IT WOULD STILL BE BRACING TO MAKE IT COMPLETELY CLEAR TO SOVIET
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SIDE THAT -- DESPITE EVIDENCE FROM US BEHAVIOR IN RECENT MONTHS -- WE DO NOT HAVE UNLIMITED PATIENCE IN FACE OF MOROKHOV'S WITHDRAWAL FROM SCENE DURING PAST TWO WEEKS AND OTHER DILATORY MANEUVERS.

8. FOURTH, CONCERNING THE PACKAGE, I COMPLETELY AGREE WITH REFEL PARA 1(B) "HOLD FIRM ON RIGHT OF OBSERVER TO BE PRESENT 100-150 KILOTON RANGE."

9. I AM NOT ATTRACTED TO REFTTEL PARA 1(A) "ACCEPT 15-YEAR DURATION PLUS US WORDS IN TREATY ARTICLE VIII PARA 3 AS LINKAGE TO TTBT AMENDMENT OR REPLACEMENT." SOVIETS WOULD LIKE IT, BUT I DO NOT PERCEIVE WHAT WE WOULD GET FOR THIS CONCESSION. MY VIEW IS THAT SOVIETS WILL YIELD ON THIS. (NOTE, E.G., THAT THEIR LANGUAGE ON DURATION NOW IS "THIS TREATY SHALL REMAIN IN FORCE FOR A PERIOD OF FIFTEEN YEARS, AND IT SHALL BE EXTENDED FOR SUCCESSIVE FIVE-YEAR PERIODS UNLESS, ETC".) THERE COULD BE A REAL PROBLEM FROM CRITICS IF WE: (A) TIE TTBT AND PNE TREATIES CLOSE TOGETHER, AND(B) WRITE PNE TREATY FOR FIFTEEN YEARS. LOGICAL CONCLUSION COULD BE THAT TTBT WITH THRESHOLD AT 150 KILOTONS HAS BEEN, IN EFFECT, ENDORSED FOR FIFTEEN YEARS.

10. CONCERNING REFTTEL PARA 1(C) "ALLOW AGGREGATE YIELD INCREASE TO 1500 KT," MY VIEWS ARE CONSTRAINED BY LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OF CURRENT WASHINGTON ASSESSMENT OF SLIFER ACCURACY AND RESULTING CHANCES OF CATCHING CLANDESTINE WEAPON TEST IF AGGREGATE YIELD LIMIT IS INCREASED ABOVE 1000 KILOTONS. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PACKAGE IN REFTTEL SUGGESTS THAT A BASIC CONSIDERATION MAY HAVE BEEN A TRADE OFFERING AN AGGREGATE YIELD LIMIT OF 1500 KILOTONS IN EXCHANGE FOR A NEW SLIFER/CANISTER FORMULA. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO ME THAT SUCH A TRADE WOULD BE DESIRABLE. THE YIELD OF CLANDESTINE WEAPON TEST THAT CAN BE PULLED OFF IS MOSTLY INFLUENCED BY: (A) AGGREGATE YIELD LIMIT, AND (B) PERFORMANCE OF LOCAL SEISMIC NETWORK; AND THE PACKAGE DOES NOT SEEM TO CONTAIN ANYTHING THAT WOULD IMPROVE PERFORMANCE OF LOCAL SEISMIC NETWORK OR SUPPLEMENT IT. SOVIETS, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT DOUBT LIKE 1500 BETTER THAN 1000.

11. CONCERNING REFTTEL PARA 1(D) "ACCEPT AD REF SLIFER PLACEMENT FORMULA ABOVE 50 KT, BUT BELOW 50 CHANGE TO CANISTER LENGTH FORMULA, WITH SLIFER ONE METER ABOVE TOP OF CANISTER", MY
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COMMENTS MUST RETURN TO PARA 3, ABOVE. IT REMAINS UNCLEAR TO US WHAT HAS BEEN GOING ON AT HOM AND WHAT PROBLEM IS BEING ADDRESSED. WITH NO DESCRIPTION OF THIS BACKGROUND HERE, IT HAS NOT SEEMED REASONABLE TO ASK DETAILED TECHNICAL QUESTIONS ALTHOUGH WE HAVE SOME. FOR EXAMPLE:

- WHAT RISK SCENARIOS LIE BEHIND CURRENT ASSESSMENTS OF REQUIRED YIELD MEASUREMENT ACCURACY AS FUNCTION OF YIELD?

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 842

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 3406

EXDIS

ACDA ONLY

EYES ONLY DR. IKLE FROM BUCHHEIM

- WHAT REQUIREMENTS FOR MEASUREMENT ACCURACY ARE NOW CONSIDERED ADEQUATE?

- HOW MANY MISCROSECONDS OF HYDRODYNAMIC DATA ARE NOW ESTIMATED TO BE REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE NECESSARY MEASUREMENT ACCURACY?

- HOW HAS THIS ESTIMATED NEED FOR HYDRODYNAMIC DATA BEEN INFLUENCED BY ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT DATA PROCESSING PROCEDURE TO BE USED (E.G., SAMPLING RATE, USE OF EMPIRIACAL DATA ON ON NOISE)?

12. SOVIET REACTION TO NEW SLIFER/CANISER RULE IS NOT PRE-DICTABLE. THEIR POSITION APPEARS TO BE BASED ON TECHNICAL GUIDELINES RELATED TO AVOIDING DISCLOSURE OF "OTHER INFORMATION" (EM) AND THESE GUIDELINES MAY LEAVE NO ROOM FOR BARGAINING. US PROPOSAL FOR NEW RULES LIKELY TO PROMPT AT LEAST FOLLOWING RETORTS:

A. CLAIMS THAT US SIDE IS AGAIN TIGHTENING ITS POSITION IN ITS UNENDING ATTEMPT TO ACQUIRE INFORMATION NOT NEEDED FOR VERIFICATION.

B. THEY DO NOT WANT TO LIMIT CANISTERS TO LESS THAN 10 METERS.

C. THEY ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER PROPOSAL FOR CLOSER SPACING IF HOST BLOCKING SWITCH ADDED.

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13. CONCERNING REFTTEL PARA 1(E) "CHANGE SEISMIC NET TRIGGER YIELD

TO 500 KT", IT IS MY JUDGEMENT THAT THIS IS THE BEST COMPONENT IN THE PACKAGE. UNLESS THERE IS SOMETHING INVOLVED THAT I DO NOT KNOW ABOUT, IT WOULD NOT MATERIALLY INCREASE CHEATING OPPORTUNITIES. FURTHER, ITS CONCESSION COULD CARRY SUBSTANTIAL WEIGHT WITH SOVIETS BECAUSE IT WOULD REMOVE THE EXTENSIVE SCOPE OF OBSERVER PRESENCE ASSOCIATED WITH THE SEISMIC NETWORK FOR GROUPS IN YIELD RANGE 300-500 KILOTONS.

14. CONCERNING TACTICS TOWARD REALIZING AGREEMENT ON THE POINTS INVOLVED, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IT WOULD NOT BE A GOOD IDEA TO JUST DROP A "PACKAGE" ON THE TABLE. RATHER, I WOULD JUDGE IT BEST TO ALLOW MOROKHOV TO RUN ON HOTLY (OR PROVOKE HIM INTO IT) ABOUT IMPERATIVE NEED FOR HIGHER AGGREGATE YIELD LIMIT, ETC., AND THEN TELL HIM THAT WE MIGHT CONSIDER ACCOMMODATING HIM IF WE CAN INCLUDE COMPENSATING VERIFICATION IMPROVEMENTS. IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT, BECAUSE OF MOROKHOV'S ADAMANT INSISTENCE ON PROCEEDING STEP-BY-STEP, SOME OF THE ISSUES TO WHICH THE PACKAGE IS ADDRESSED HAVE NOT YET BEEN DISCUSSED IN SERIOUS AND DETAILED WAY. US SIDE, THEREFORE, HAS NO BASIS FOR EVALUATING HOW THEY MIGHT BEST FIT INTO A NEW PACKAGE.

15. IN ADDITION TO ISSUES DIRECTLY ON THE COMPONENTS OF THE PACKAGE IN REFTTEL, IT IS IMPORTANT ALSO TO NOTE THAT WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED A MEANINGFUL RESPONSE FROM SOVIETS ON US PROPOSAL FOR CHANCE CHOICE PERMITTING POST-SHOT RETENTION BY HOST PARTY OF ONE SET OF RECONRDNING EQUIPMENT. (THIS ALSO BECAUSE OF MOROKHOV ABSENCE/ UNAVAILABILITY SINCE FEB 19, WHICH NOW SEEMS TO EXTEND UNTIL AT LAST MARCH 9.)
STOESSEL

NOTE BY OC/T: DISTRIBUTION COORDINATED WITH MR. HOGANSON, S/S-O,
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